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HOUSING CONDITIONS IN ANCIENT ROME

By Dorothy M. Robathan
Wellesley College

MOST OF US were brought up with the idea that the ancient Romans all inhabited the kind of Pompeian house which was illustrated in our beginning Latin books or which was reproduced in the full-scale peristyle in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. In the last quarter of a century, however, much research has been done on the question of the Roman dwelling; and this paper, which makes no claims to originality, aims to bring together some of the evidence which has been assembled by such scholars as the Swedish Boethius, the Italians Calza, Patroni, Beccati, the English Carrington, the American Harsh.

The studies which have been made in this field have concentrated pretty much upon two aspects of the housing problem: (1) the origin of the atrium-type of house, and (2) the development of the insula-type of dwelling. Let us consider first some theories concerning the first problem. How did the atrium-peristyle house, so well known to us from Pompeii, originate? The conventional view, familiar to all of us, is the following: the old Italic house was simply a hut of the sort represented in the cinerary urns found in the early Italian cemeteries, or seen today in the Roman Campagna. In the part of the Palatine Hill below the temple of Cybele there have recently come to light traces of hut structures coeval with the traditional date of the founding of Rome.

In explaining the origin of the Italic hut, scholars long ago suggested that the hole in the roof, which takes the place of a chimney, evolved into the compluvium in the Roman atrium; and the very word *atrium*, if derived from *ater*, would call to mind the blackened walls of the hut with its hole in the roof for the escape of smoke. According to this theory, as the owner became more affluent he added more rooms around the original unit, and sometimes a second story appeared. In this simple atrium house of the second century B.C. there were no windows on the front, and the later practice of renting shops which opened on the street had not yet developed. Later acquaintance with Hellenistic houses led to the addition of the peristyle, and sometimes to more than one. This then is the conventional view: that the wattle huts developed into the Tuscan atrium, which in the third stage, marked by better building material, was enlarged by second and third stories, as well as by porticoes (peristyles) behind the old house.

In recent years, however, such scholars as Patroni and Carrington have supported the grammarian Festus in the claim that the tablinum and not the atrium was the original part of the house. According to their theory, the atrium developed from the open area in front of the tablinum and was later enclosed by huts placed side by side for protection. Boethius agrees with this theory, in general, but feels that Patroni has overlooked the significance of the threefold division of the tablinum and has overemphasized the importance of the Italic hut. He asserts that the atrium house has no features that would prove clearly that the primitive Italic hut was the origin of the tablinum or of the atrium either. Boethius finds significance in the threefold division of the Etruscan temple and in a group of Etruscan tombs dating from the seventh or sixth century. This archaeologist also links the arrangement of the atrium as a small hall surrounded by rooms, with the Oriental house of the Liwan type. Such houses have been found in Cyprus and Anatolia, countries with which the Etruscans had trade relations in the seventh and sixth centuries. To Professor Boethius, then, it seems that the atrium-peristyle house, instead of developing from the Italic hut, was a combination of elements which resulted from a remodeling of Etruscan architecture under the influence of the imported post-Mycenaean house—i.e., megaron and aule became tablinum and atrium.

Let us now consider where the insula-type of dwelling fits into the picture. Ever since the early excavations at Ostia revealed such blocks of apartment houses as the House of Diana, it has been easier for us to become reconciled to the fact that in the Augustan Age over a million people lived in the city of Rome, most of them within the area later enclosed by the Aurelian Wall, which is about twelve miles in circumference and includes an area of a little more than three square miles. As new evidence is brought forth concerning the amount of space that was taken up by public buildings in the heart of ancient Rome, it would be hard to imagine the large populace spread out in the manner of the atrium-peristyle houses of Pompeii. The discovery of an insula at the northwest corner of the Capitoline Hill shows clearly that at least in the second century of the Christian era apartment houses of the Ostian type were also in use in the Roman capital. According to Professor Harsh, the ground floor of the Capitoline insula was given over to shops, while the floor above had rooms with a single window. The third floor, which is at the level of the modern street, was divided into larger rooms with two or three windows on the façade. The fourth, fifth, and presumably sixth floors were given over

ENJOY THIS HOUR

(Cf. Horace, *Carm.* ii, 11)

By Gardner Wade Earle
Cleveland Heights (Ohio) High School

Why ask what warlike tribes across the sea
Are plotting? They are far enough away—
But life is here. It will not always be.

Youth and beauty do not wait a day
Beyond their time. Receding to the past,
They leave us wizened, old, and turning gray.

Before the moon has changed, before the last
Bright rose of summer droops to earth and dies,
Quaff yet the wine whose flavor ebbs so fast.

And Lydia—go bid her haste—time flies!
With ivory lyre she'll banish carking care,
Her tresses bound with coy Laconian ties.

Perfume the passing hour while you dare!

to apartments which were approached through a long corridor at the rear.

About the origin of the insula-type of dwelling there is also a division in the ranks of scholars. Professor Carrington feels that the insula is a normal development from the atrium-type of house. He says that these three stages—Italic hut, atrium, insula—are "the links of a broken chain which stretches from prehistoric times to the present day" and that it is possible to trace a "logical development" from Pompeii before 79 A.D., Ostia after 100 A.D., to domestic architecture in Rome at present. Boethius, on the other hand, doubts whether there is a "logical development," but concedes that the links in the chain have influenced each other. That is, the Swedish archaeologist takes the view that the imperial insula was an expanded form of the shop-dwelling which, he says, existed in Rome from early times along with the atrium-type of house. In support of his theory Carrington notes that in 79 A.D. some of the houses at Herculaneum were already remodelled into two-family dwellings, and that outdoor stairways had been built to allow access to the upper apartment. He sees in such houses as that of the Cenaculum at Pompeii the beginnings of the insula, where this early form of upper floor gave place to a more complicated one in which additional rooms were built off a corridor that was constructed around the inside of the atrium, thus reducing this unit until it became merely a light-well.

Boethius, on the other hand, asserts that architecturally it is impossible to explain the insula as a result of the urban development of the atrium house. The fact that the emperor Augustus limited the height of dwellings to seventy-nine Roman feet indicates that at the end of the Republic there were houses exceeding this figure, which Boethius feels could only have been tenements, carelessly constructed, "huge and without atria." In rejecting Carrington's theory that the conventional atrium house developed logically into the insula apartment building, he proposes that the shop-house was the origin of such a later building as the house at the foot of the Capitoline. The shops in the Forum of Julius Caesar or the later ensemble in the Market adjoining the Forum of Trajan are examples of the kind of architecture which found a counterpart in the second century in the Ostian insula. A comparison of these structures makes Professor Boethius's hypothesis a very attractive one.

There were, of course, in Rome, houses of the atrium type which existed along with the apartment houses of the less well-to-do. Republican houses on the Palatine beneath the Flavian Palace bear witness to this fact, as does the so-called House of Livia, which, if it is really the house of Augustus, had formerly belonged to the orator Hortensius. It has the conventional atrium, threefold tablinum, and peristyle.

We have noted then that there are two opposing views regarding the development of the insula-type of apartment house: (1) that it was the fourth stage in the process involving Italic hut, atrium, atrium-peristyle, insula, and (2) that it developed from the taberna-type of dwelling, which had existed side by side with the atrium house from early times, and by the second century had won out over its competitor because of the exigencies of space.

The excavations at Ostia from 1938 to 1942, being continued at the present time, have, however, added another extremely interesting chapter to the story of ancient housing. According to an inscription found at Ostia itself, this seaport town was divided, not like Rome into fourteen regions, but into five. Before the death of the eminent archaeologist Guido Calza, the first and second regions had been completely excavated and the third, fourth, and fifth partly uncovered. The recent exploration has revealed in the southwest part of the third region some remains of the fourth century of the Christian era which not only throw light on Ostia's social, religious, and civic life at this late period, but have a bearing as well upon the story of the development of the Roman dwelling. It has been pointed out that Ostia's decline dates from the period when the neighboring town of Portus, constructed by the Emperor Claudius, and enlarged by Trajan, was taken under the patronage of Constantine and called *civitas Constantiniana*. It had been assumed that little of interest took place in Ostia at this late period. Recent excavations have shown, however, that at this time Ostia's baths were restored, the theatre was repaired, new statues were set up in the Forum, and, what concerns us more at this moment, that there existed in the fourth century a class of wealthy citizens who constructed for themselves spacious houses of the atrium-peristyle type. Thirteen such buildings have been found in the section of the city previously mentioned. They are extremely interesting in their plans, for they show that in a number of cases wealthy merchants bought up insulae and transformed them into the atrium-peristyle one-family house, thus reversing the process which Carrington thinks took place when the Pompeian house developed into the insula.

Becatti, an Italian scholar, who has made a special study of these late houses, has pointed out some interesting facts concerning their decorative details. It is perhaps not generally realized that among the hundreds of mosaics which are so characteristic of the Ostian house of the earlier period, it is rarely that one finds any in color. In the fourth century, however, in these houses which were rebuilt and redecorated, new polychrome mosaics appear alongside the black and white ones. A characteristic architectural feature of these fourth-century houses are brick arches supported by columns of travertine, often slender, sometimes square. Between the capitals and the arch it was customary to inset a slab of travertine, which Becatti calls a *pulvino* or cushion. This device he links with a feature of Byzantine style. While in Rome itself examples of arches supported on columns are not entirely unknown, the monumental architecture of the Empire preferred the straight architrave over the columns. In North Africa, however, examples have been found of such series of arches, and a mosaic in the Bardo Museum in Tunis shows a representation of a triple archway such as is found in some of these Ostian dwellings.

In the city of Rome itself few houses of this period are extant, although the rather extensive building under the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo is an example of a private dwelling of the fourth century which

CONTEST CLOSING

Readers are reminded that this year's Verse Writing Contest will close on February 2. Entries may be sent to Prof. Lillian B. Lawler, Hunter College, 695 Park Avenue, New York 21, N. Y.; to Prof. W. L. Carr, University of Kentucky, Lexington 29, Ky.; or to Prof. Konrad Gries, Queens College, Flushing, New York. The rules of the contest may be found in our November issue, page 15.

THE CLASSICAL OUTLOOK

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BUSINESS MANAGER: Henry C. Montgomery, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio

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has some points of similarity between it and the Ostian houses which we have been considering. Passages in the literature of the fourth century suggest that the wealthy Romans in many cases inhabited the kind of dwellings which we may visit with enjoyment at Ostia. We may look forward to further enlightenment on this subject as a result of the currrent studies of Professor Boethius, as well as from the forthcoming account of Ostia which Professor Romanelli is preparing for the press, a work which was interrupted by the untimely death of Guido Calza.

SCHOLARSHIPS

Through the generosity of the late Professor Walter Miller, the University of Missouri now offers a scholarship which will pay up to $600 per year, to a graduate student working for the Master's degree in the classics. Applications must be in before March 1, 1953. Address Professor W. E. Gwatkin, Jr., University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for further details.

Rockford College is again offering to an entering freshman a departmental scholarship in Latin of $1000 ($500 for each of two years). Students who have had two or more years of Latin in high school are eligible to apply; candidates will write an examination testing particularly the ability to read Latin. The examination is given at the candidate's school. The successful candidate is expected to continue her study of Latin for one year but need not elect a major in the field. Applications from promising students are invited and should be filed by March 1, 1953. For further information, write to the Director of Admission, Rockford College, Rockford, Illinois.

Bryn Mawr College offers a resident fellowship in the value of $1250, and one or two resident scholarships of $650, for graduate study in the fields of Greek and Latin. Further information may be obtained from the Dean of the Graduate School, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

Amherst College offers, for students who will enter college in the fall, a freshman scholarship in Greek, the Harry de Forest Smith Scholarship, with a stipend of $500. The holder of the scholarship will be required to take Greek in his freshman year. Boys in their senior year in secondary schools, who have had two or more years of Greek, are eligible. A competitive examination for the scholarship will be held in March. Inquiries should be addressed to Professor John A. Moore, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.

Several regional associations offer scholarships, of $200 or $250 each, for study in the Summer Session of the American Academy of Rome. These scholarships are open to secondary-school teachers of the classics who are members of the associations concerned. Persons in the territory of the Classical Association of New England should write for further information to Professor F. Warren Wright, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.; in the territory of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States, to Miss Emilie Margaret White, Roosevelt High School, 13th and Upshur Sts., N. W., Washington 11, D. C.; in the territory of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, to Professor C. R. Hart, Emory University, Georgia.

LETTERS FROM OUR READERS

COMMENTS IN VERSE

Professor Roger Pack, of the University of Michigan, writes:

"After my verse *De Culice Pseudovergiliano* was published in the last volume of The Classical Outlook (XXIX, 49), I received a very interesting letter from the Right Reverend Monsignor Anthony Schlernitzauer, pastor of St. Peter's Church in Columbus, Ohio. The Monsignor tells me he is not a Latin teacher, but rather 'an inspired amateur,' who 'in his leisure moments whittles away at Juvencus and other authors who are strictly caviar to the general.' His comment on my poem was as follows:

"Rem modicam calamo tangis, feliciter ornas;
Ensifero culici famam dant verba perennem."

In ensuing letters Monsignor Schlernitzauer commented further:

"Armis iste culex bene scit celebrare triumphum.
Visque modusque operandi aptis modulis memorantur."

Also, "Cur rabide feriat iaculo ferus ille culex? Cur
Pastorem innocuum nequeatque relinquere sanum?
At responsa quidem ratio contraria suadet.
Custodes ovium spatiari saepe necesse est;
Fungenti officio raro recubare licebit."

The Monsignor has given us permission to publish the verses.

GREEK DRAMA IN MODERN DRESS

Sister M. Joseph Aloysius, of Clarke College, Dubuque, Iowa, writes:

"In an effort to combine new production methods with a classic play, our Drama Department recently presented an experimental modern-dress version of Sophocles' *Antigone*. The director chose the Dudley Fitts and Robert Fitzgerald poetic translation of the play, a translation which, while using the modern idiom, approximates the linguistic beauty of the original.

"Since ours is a women's college, the chorus of Athenian elders was changed to one of young women, friends of Antigone. This alteration necessitated surprisingly few changes in the choral odes.

"Antigone's choice between loyalty

to her god and loyalty to the state represents a universal conflict not limited to one place or time, so that an audience easily accepts the modern dress of the actors.

"A monochromatic design of white through gray to black was used for the set and costumes. Members of the chorus wearing identical dinner gowns, five white, five black, and five gray; Haemon in summer formal attire; Teiresias in tuxedo; and Creon in tails and white tie implemented this color design. Tints and shades of red provided slight but brilliant color relief—Antigone appearing in flame-red, Ismene in pale pink, the Queen Mother in wine-red. The scarlet tone was picked up by the lining of Creon's opera cloak and the ties and cummerbunds of the guards.

"The architectural setting of steps, ramps, and levels gave the chorus and actors a variety of acting areas. Also, various technical devices helped to heighten audience interest in the play. Recorded music or a single kettledrum accompanied the dance movements of the chorus during the choral odes. Area lighting pointed up important actors, and colored shadows of abstract mobiles projected on the cyclorama provided background during some of the scenes.

"A round table discussion on Greek drama held at a student assembly, and several programs broadcast over the campus radio station, aroused the interest of the college community before the production. The Classical Department assisted the Drama Department throughout."

WHY NOT SAY IT IN LATIN?

Dr. Emory E. Cochran, of Fort Hamilton High School, Brooklyn, N. Y., writes:

"Your readers might be interested in a few experiments with 'modern Latin.' Wherever possible these renderings are based on similar expressions or constructions found in the writings of classical Latin authors.

"*Aboard* (adv.). 'All aboard the airplane,' 'Omnes in aëriam navem inscendant.' Similarly, 'All aboard the train,' 'Omnes in hamaxostichum (vaporitraham) inscendant.'

"*Nutmeg* (noun). Nux muscata ('a musked' i.e., 'scented' nut). Nutmeg grater, 'tyrocnestis (or radula) ad nuces muscatas radendas.'

"*Pull* (noun). Questionable influence, e.g., in politics, nimia gratia. To have 'pull' in politics, nimiā gratiā valere apud factionem (factiones) civitatis politicam (politicas).

"*Resign* (verb). Abdico, usually with acc. refl. pron. and abl. case, e.g., 'Farouk, rex Aegypti, regno se abdicavit'; cf. 'Consulatu se abdicavit' (Cicero).

"*Slip* (noun). A woman's undergarment, tunica interior. 'Her slip is showing,' 'Tunica interior, ea insciente, videtur.'

"*Spoonful* (noun). Mensura cochlearia. 'Coffee with one spoonful of sugar,' 'Cafaeum cochlearis mensurā dulce factum.'

"*Stenography* (noun). Tachygraphia. 'To take stenographic notes,' 'Brevibus velocissimisque notis verba alicuius excipere.'

"*Wild* (adj.) 'To grow (run) wild,' silvesco. 'The girl with hair running wild uses a hair-net.' 'Puella capillis silvescentibus reticulum usurpat.' (*Reticulum* was used by the Romans for various kinds of small nets, including hair-nets.)

"*Zipper* (noun). Clausura limbolaria (from *limbus*, edge, border)."

"SERVICE BEYOND THE CALL OF DUTY"

The sixth annual Latin Institute of the American Classical League will be held on the campus of Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, in June, 1953, on three days to be announced later. The theme for the meeting will be "Service Beyond the Call of Duty."

The Chairman of the Program Committee for the meeting is Professor Dorrance S. White, of the University of Iowa. The members of his Committee are as follows: Walter R. Agard, University of Wisconsin; Grace L. Beede, University of South Dakota; Carolyn E. Bock, University of Minnesota; Irene Crabb, Evanston Township (Illinois) High School; Gerald F. Else, University of Iowa; W. E. Gwatkin, Jr., University of Missouri; Van Johnson, Tufts College; Edith M. A. Kovach, Central High School, Detroit, Mich.; George A. Land, Newton High School, Newtonville, Mass.; Lillian B. Lawler, Hunter College; Adeline E. Reeping, Latrobe (Pa.) High School; A Pelzer Wagener, College of William and Mary; Esther Weightman, University of Wisconsin High School; Emilie Margaret White, Washington (D.C.) Public Schools; Elizabeth White, Bala-Cynwyd (Pa.) High School. All members of the Committee will welcome suggestions.

Professor Henry C. Montgomery, of Miami University, is Chairman of the local committee.

Those who have been present at earlier Latin Institutes can testify to the great professional value and good fellowship of the annual gathering.

ON SOME ROMAN DAYS

By Robert G. Hoerber
Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri

THE ROMAN month was divided by the real or imaginary phases of the moon—new moon, first quarter, and full moon. The Kalends, or first day of the month, supposedly marked the new moon; the Nones marked the first quarter; and the Ides, which were sacred to Jupiter, marked the full moon. Varro states (*De L. L.* vi, 27): "Primi dies mensium nominati Calendae ab eo quod his diebus calantur eius mensis nonae a pontificibus, quintanae an septimanae sint futurae, in Capitolio in Curia Calabra sic: 'Dies te quinque calo, Juno Covella.' 'Septem dies te calo, Juno Covella.'" The invocation of Juno indicates that all Kalends were sacred to Juno. Whether the Kalends were five or seven days before the Nones was determined by the original length of the months. In the four months which were the only months of thirty-one days in the calendar of the Republic—Martius, Maius, Quintilis, and October—the Kalends was the seventh day before the Nones; in all the other months the Kalends fell five days before the Nones. The reason for this difference is evident. In the months of thirty-one days the Ides came on the fifteenth day of the month, while in the months of twenty-nine days the thirteenth day was the Ides. On the basis of the Ides, then, the date for the Nones and the number of days between the Kalends and the Nones were determined. The Nones, as the name signifies, was always eight days, or nine days according to the Roman reckoning, before the Ides. Therefore when the Ides fell on the fifteenth, the Nones occurred on the seventh, and the Kalends was seven days before the Nones; when the Ides fell on the thirteen, the Nones was the fifth day of the month, and the Kalends was five days before the Nones.

Besides the lunar divisions of the month, an eight-day, or nundinal, division of the month was introduced at an early period. It is indicated in all the calendars by the letters A-H. The *nundinae* were market days on which the rustic population came to Rome (*CIL* I, Pt. 2, 1, 231).

To the individual days in the Roman calendar were attached certain marks of religious significance. "F" stood for *fas* or *fastus*, and meant that on that day civil and especially judicial business might be transacted without fear of divine displeasure. Varro states (*De L. L.* vi, 29): "Dies fasti, per quos praetoribus omnia

verba (i.e., *do, dico, addico*) sine piaculo licet fari." "C," for *Comitialis*, signified that on that day the *comitia* met and legal business might be transacted, as on the days marked "F," if there was no other hindrance (Macrobius, *Sat.* i, 16, 14). The total number of days marked "F" and "C," and thus available for secular business, was 239 out of 365 in the Julian calendar. "N," meaning *nefastus*, denoted a day which was *religiosus, vitiosus*, or *ater* (Varro, *De L. L.* vi, 29-30; Gellius iv, 9, 5). Of the fifty-seven days so marked in the Julian calendar some recalled a disaster to the state, while most of them signified lustrations, or worship of the dead or of the powers of the earth; consequently these days were unsuitable for worldly business (Livy vi, 1, 11; Macrobius, *Sat.* i, 16, 22). "EN," according to a note in the calendar of Praeneste on January 10, was an abbreviation of *endotercisus*, which means *intercisus* or "cut into parts." Eight days were thus marked. Varro says that such a day was *nefastus*, but in the middle, between the slaying of the victim and the placing of the entrails upon the altar, it was *fastus* (*De L. L.* vi, 31; Macrobius, *Sat.* i, 16, 3). "QRCF" stood for "Quando rex comitiavit fas," and denoted days on which proceedings in the court might begin only when the king had dissolved the Comitia (*De L. L.* vi, 31). March 24 and May 24 were the only two days so marked.

The letters "FP" occur three times, but in three extant calendars only. The meaning is not certain, and seems to have been unknown to the Romans themselves. Mommsen explains these letters as being an abbreviation for *fastus principio*, signifying that the early part of the day was *fastus*. No one has yet determined for certain the origin of the sign "NP." Since it apparently was unknown to Varro and Ovid, it was perhaps not a mark in the pre-Julian calendars. Verrius Flaccus seems to have distinguished it from "N," but his explanation is mutilated as it survives in Festus (165). W. W. Fowler (*Roman Festivals*, 9-10) suggests that "NP" in the Julian calendars distinguished those days on which fell the festivals of deities who were not of an earthly, and therefore doubtful, character from the days marked "N." He observes that in the series of *dies nefasti* in February and April the Ides in each case have the mark "NP" as being sacred to Jupiter. Mommsen holds that "NP" is merely an older form of "N." Since all the explanations of this problem are largely conjectural, it is better to leave the question open.

CALL FOR SUMMER COURSES

For several years the May issue of THE CLASSICAL OUTLOOK has contained lists of summer courses in Latin, Greek, ancient history and civilization, ancient art, archaeology, classical literature in translation, linguistics, general language, and the teaching of high-school Latin, which were being planned by various colleges and universities throughout the country. Copy for the May, 1953, issue must be in by March 2. Members of college faculties who can supply lists of projected summer courses by that date are earnestly requested to send them to the Editor, Lillian B. Lawler, Hunter College, 695 Park Avenue, New York 21, N. Y. Please do not send catalogues.

DE GLORIA

By THELMA B. DEGRAFF
Hunter College of the City of New York

THE STORY OF Cicero's dismay, on his return from Sicily with the plaudits of the Sicilians ringing in his ears, at learning in Puteoli that his absence had brought anonymity rather than renown is well known (*Planc.* 64-66; Plutarch, *Cic.* 6); but one is more inclined to believe the orator himself (*Planc.* 66) when he indicates that the aftermath of this incident was a resolution to remain constantly in the public eye than to accept Plutarch's less demonstrable conclusion that from this time forth Cicero's desire for fame began to abate. Governor Adlai Stevenson, the defeated candidate in the recent presidential election, is reported to have told an anecdote startingly similar to the one mentioned above (*New York Times* for July 29, 1952).

In July, at a stop in Bloomington, Illinois, the newly designated nominee of the Democratic party was greeted by a crowd of some two thousand people. The Governor ruefully contrasted his satisfaction at this post-convention reception with his disappointment some years before when he had arrived home—he thought "in triumph"—from a year "in Europe, Russia, and the Middle East" to find "not even a porter to carry his bag." The crowning indignity came when "an old town character" sidled up to him and said, "Hello, Ad, you going away?"

NON CAUPONANTES SED BELLIGERANTES

By LAURA B. VOELKEL
Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia

IN THE MIDST of all the discussions about the truce talks and the exchange of prisoners of war, a passage in Latin literature on a similar subject comes to mind. The selection, from the *Annals* of Ennius, is preserved in a quotation by Cicero (*De Off.* i, 12, 18). The Romans were at war with the Greek states of southern Italy. These states, unable or unwilling to do their own fighting, had hired a general with his army to do the job for them. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, was the distinguished leader of these mercenary forces, and this fighting has been termed by historians the Pyrrhic War.

In the battle of Heracleia in 280 B.C. the Romans had been defeated although the great losses suffered by the forces of Pyrrhus gave rise to a phrase still used by military men—a Pyrrhic victory. During the truce which followed the battle, the Roman general Fabricius was sent to ransom the Roman prisoners whom Pyrrhus held.

With typical Roman tolerance and respect for the basic nobility of an enemy, Ennius gives us the reply of Pyrrhus:

Nec mi aurum posco nec mi pretium dederitis.
Non cauponantes bellum sed belligerantes
Ferro non auro vitam cernamus utrique,
Vosne velit an me regnare era, quidve ferat Fors,
Virtute experiamur. Et hoc simul accipe dictum:
Quorum virtuti belli fortuna pepercit,
Eorundem libertati me parcere certum est.
Dono, ducite, doque volentibus cum magnis dis.

"I do not demand gold for myself," he says, "nor will you pay me a price. Not trafficking in war, but waging it, with iron, not with gold, let each of us vie for his life. Whether Fortune, our master, has willed that you or that I win, or whatever she may bring, let us make the test by bravery. And now hear this statement: Those whom the fortune of war has spared in their bravery, it is right that I spare and grant them their liberty. I give them to you—take them home—and I grant them to you with the approval of the great gods."

No English word can convey the

complete connotation of the Latin word *cauponantes*. A *caupo* was a tavern-keeper, a man who sold hospitality rather than granting it as a sacred trust. He was known as a conniving, miserly cheat, who would bicker over the last *uncia* a poor traveler might have. So, in effect, Pyrrhus is saying, "Let's not quibble and haggle, nor play at fighting as if it were a game, but let's wage war with our weapons rather than our money."

We today are less fortunate than the Romans. General Nam is somewhat less generous than Pyrrhus, or perhaps his employers are more demanding than the South Italian Greeks who apparently took little interest in the conduct of the war until Pyrrhus, after nearly ten years of fighting, left them to the ravages of a triumphant Roman army.

A RUSSIAN *QUO VADIS*

By Chauncey E. Finch
Saint Louis University

THE RECENT filming of *Quo Vadis* has focused public attention anew on the curious irony that Poland's most famous writer, Henryk Sienkiewicz, though an ardent national patriot, is best known outside of his own country for a novel that deals not with Poland, but with ancient Rome. It is perhaps not generally known that one of Russia's most famous writers, Alexander Pushkin, likewise once began writing a novel based on Roman times, which, if completed, certainly would have resembled *Quo Vadis* in many respects.

A sketch outlining a portion of the proposed novel has been preserved among Pushkin's writings. (P. O. Morozov, *Works and Letters of A. S. Pushkin*, St. Petersburg, 1904, 3, 538-540). The scene of the portion of the story covered in this sketch is laid in Cumae in the time of Nero. As in *Quo Vadis*, an important role is played by Petronius.

At the beginning of the account Petronius and some friends are following Nero at a distance, as the latter journeys through Southern Italy. Just as the party approaches Cumae, Petronius receives a message from the Emperor, indicating that Nero has taken offense at something done by him, and ordering him to return to Rome to await his fate. Petronius, on receiving the news, calmly indicates his intention of remaining in Cumae, and sends a slave to secure quarters. When his friends express fear for his safety if he disregards the orders of the Emperor, Petronius replies that he has no thought of disobeying the commands of the Emperor, but rather intends to anticipate his wishes by taking his own life. Soon luxurious quarters are secured by Petronius in the suburbs of Cumae, where he entertains his friends lavishly in the course of the next few days while letting blood from the veins in his arms at intermittent intervals. During his long-drawn-out suicide, after destroying his famous murrhine vase, he discusses with his guests various ways of dying, composes poetry for them "not inferior to that of Catullus," talks about the accomplishments of Cleopatra, reads aloud from his *Saturae*, criticizes various poets including Anacreon and Horace, and engages in other pursuits.

Had Pushkin seen fit to apply his great literary powers to a continuation and development of this sketch, it is quite probable that the resulting work would have rivalled or surpassed *Quo Vadis* in interest and popularity.

THE MULTIPLE REPETITION OF ODD NUMBERS

By Eugene S. McCartney
University of Michigan

IN AN EMERGENCY during the Second Punic War Quintus Fabius Maximus made a vow to celebrate a musical and dramatic festival that was to cost 333 sestertia, 333 denarii, and one third of a denarius (Plut., *Fab. Max.* iv, 4-5). The motive for the repetition of the number three puzzled Plutarch. One of his suggestions is that Fabius desired to laud the power of the number three, which by nature is a perfect number.

Not less striking is the emphasis placed on this number in the peace treaty between Richard I and Saladin in 1192. It was to last three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours (K. Norgate, *Richard the Lion Heart* [London, 1924], p. 259, n. 2). In a work of a more popular nature the term is given as "three years, three months, three weeks, three days, three hours, three minutes, and three seconds" (Thomas B. Costain, *The Pageant of England: The Conquerors* [New York, 1949], p. 276).

On April 22, 1272, Sultan Rukn ed-din Baibars of Egypt made a peace with the Latins of 'Akka that was to be in force for ten years, ten months, ten days, and ten hours (W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusades in the East* [Cambridge: at the University Press, 1907], p. 345). It is said (*ibid.*, p. 286, n. 3) that such designations of time were usual in treaties of the thirteenth century.

Several odd numbers play interesting roles in Hungarian lore, as we see from a volume by Elisabet Sklarek, *Ungarische Volksmärchen* (Leipzig, 1901):

"So lange soll ich diese Schlangenhaut tragen, bis meine Gattin dies ihr Geheimnis ein Jahr, einen Tag und eine Stunde bewahrt hat" (p. 54).

"Aber wozu warten wir noch ein Jahr, einen Tag und eine Stunde, mein Kind?" (p. 55).

"Du, mein Bruder, wandere auf diesem [Wege] und ich auf jenem, und heute über ein Jahr, einen Monat und einen Tag kehren wir hierher zurück" (p. 96).

"Unterdessen war ein Jahr, ein Monat und ein Tag verflossen" (p. 99).

"Schon sieben Jahre, sieben Monate, sieben Wochen, sieben Tage und sieben Stunden waren verflossen, seit der jungen Königin Gemahl verschwunden war . . ." (pp. 57-58).

"Der [ein Baum] hatte neunundneunzig Aeste; am neunundneunzigsten baumelte ein Tornister mit neunundneunzig Geheimfächern, in seinem neunundneunzigsten Fach war die neunundneunzigblättrige Bibel von meinem Onkel St. Ludwig, und auf deren neunundneunzigstem Blatt waren die folgenden Worte aufgeschrieben." (p. 189).

A modern example of the multiple use of three is to be found in a Caucasian tale in which the hero informs his bride that he must set out on a journey. His final instructions to her are as follows:

"Warte auf mich, drei Jahre, drei Tage, drei Stunden und drei Minuten lang, wenn ich dann nicht zurück bin, kannst du tun, was dir beliebt" (*Kaukasische Märchen*, übersetzt von A. Dirr [Jena, 1920], p. 134).

A final example of number repetition, from a Lettish tale, illustrates the studied avoidance of an even number and may possibly also represent an effort to double whatever virtue may reside in the perfect number one:

"So lebte er in der tiefen Grube einen Tag und noch einen, eine Woche und noch eine, einen Monat und noch einen: weder kam ihm irgendein Mensch zu Hilfe, noch konnte er selbst heraus. Seine junge Frau wartete einen Tag und noch einen, eine Woche und noch eine, einen Monat und noch einen: weder kam irgendeine Nachricht, noch kehrte ihr Mann selbst zurück" (M. Boehm und F. Specht, *Lettisch-*

litauische Volksmärchen [Jena, 1924], p. 130).

In commenting on Vergil, *Eclogue* viii, 75, "Numero deus impare gaudet," Servius says: "Et impar numerus immortalis quia dividi integer non potest; par numerus mortalis, quia dividi potest." One does not need a fertile imagination to conclude that the potency in one occurrence of an odd number would be increased by the repetition of it. In modern folklore the device of multiple repetition is so well established that it must have had a long history. Is it not possible that in his use of the number three Quintus Fabius Maximus followed a practice with which he was familiar in ancient folk tales? At all events the modern stories make his usage seem less strange.

QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

Our readers are invited to send to Professor Clarence A. Forbes, Ohio State University, Columbus 10, Ohio, questions which they would like to have discussed and answered at the Latin Institute in June. The theme of the Institute is "Service Beyond the Call of Duty," but the questions may concern any aspect of the classics, or the teaching of the classics.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC RELATIONS

Mrs. Pauline Emerson Burton, Chairman of the Committee on Public Relations of the American Classical League, announces the personnel of her committee as follows: Mrs. Barry Bingham, of the Louisville (Ky.) *Times* and *Courier-Journal*; George W. Cushing, Vice-President, Station WJR, Detroit, Mich.; Juanita M. Downes, of Cheltenham High School, Elkins Park, Pa.; Belle Gould, of Henderson (Texas) High School; Mrs. Dorothy Harris Hayes, of Whitmer High School, Toledo, Ohio; Vergil E. Hiatt, of Butler University, Indianapolis, Ind.; Salvatore Matarazzo, of Fort Knox (Ky.) High School; and James L. Trautwein, of the General Seminary, New York City.

NATIONAL CONTESTS

The nineteenth annual Baird Memorial Latin Sight-Reading Contest for secondary schools, sponsored by the Classical Department of Washington Square College, New York University, will take place on Saturday, March 21, 1953. This competition is open to teams from any secondary school in the United States which is willing to enter qualified contestants and to assume the responsibility for the expenses of their visit to New York. Last year 134 different schools competed.

Full teams consist of six students, three in an Upper Group (Cicero) and three in a Lower Group (Caesar). Those teachers who do not wish to enter a six-man team may enter a three-man team in either the Upper or the Lower Group.

Prizes include cups, medals, and certificates. A special first prize, awarded to the high-school senior submitting the best individual paper, will be a four-year scholarship, paying $250 a year, to Washington Square College.

Full information may be obtained from Professor Charles Henderson, Jr., Washington Square College, New York 3, N. Y., before February 15.

For 1952-53, Eta Sigma Phi, national undergraduate honorary classical fraternity, announces four contests. The Eighth Annual Essay Contest, open to undergraduates taking Greek or Latin in an approved college or university in the United States or Canada, will have as its theme "The Place of Greek in Today's College Curriculum." The Fourth Annual Greek Translation Contest is open to undergraduates now taking Greek in an approved college or university. The third Annual Satterfield Latin Translation Contest is open to undergraduates in approved colleges and universities. The Second Chapter Foreign Language Census is open to chapters of Eta Sigma Phi. These contests will close on March 3, 1953. For complete information address Professor W. C. Korfmacher, Saint Louis University, 3650 Lindell Blvd., St. Louis 8, Mo.

"GUILT BY ASSOCIATION"

(Aesop, 284 Chambry 1927; Babrius, 13)

"A bird-catcher spread his nets for cranes and awaited the catch from afar. Now, a stork which had settled down with the cranes was caught along with them. The stork sought out the bird-catcher and said that he was not only harmless but even most useful to man, because he caught and devoured snakes and other crawling things. The bird-catcher replied: 'But even if you are utterly blameless, yet you deserve punishment for the simple reason that you have associated with evil-doers.' Accordingly, it is necessary that we human beings, too, avoid scrupulously all association with wrong-doers, in order that we may not seem to have a share in their evil-doing."

EDUCATION'S NEED OF LATIN

By A. M. Withers
Concord College, Athens, West Virginia

THERE IS nothing more widespread in American education, and nothing more unfortunate, than insensitivity to the sound and meaning of the words of our language.

On all levels of what masquerades as training in English there is a common lack of fullness of experience. The average representatives of none of the levels have known *compulsion* really to think consecutively about words and language. I have especially in mind those who, after coming to college or university, try hard to acquire a liking for literature, or to write without too much discredit, and never learn to know why they are unsuccessful.

Parenthetically it may be said that there are sensitive souls who do not require compulsion of the sort I have in mind. Some are seemingly born with language feeling. Others have a meditative word-consciousness thrust upon them by the accidents of life and environment. Adverse fortune or delicate health often carry linguistic as well as other compensations with them, developing as they may essential habits of musing upon the proprieties, the sounds, and the rhythms of words, and of otherwise thriving in understanding of the poets and in self-development in language, our own and foreign.

But in the main we have in our schools and colleges a "robustious" student population that giggles and gurgles over an unintelligently preconceived fondness for Spanish *hasta manana* and French *ouiouioui*, and that has little aroused curiosity in language as language, little sense of the logical necessity of consistent appreciation of language structure.

I find regrettable the frequent assurances of some of my foreign-language colleagues to "educators" (who complain that we do not turn out talking experts overnight to vie with foreign natives) that our methods and objectives as language teachers have been completely overhauled in these later years, and that they now conform to all the up-to-the-minute trends. The policy of "join 'em if you can't lick 'em" is a bad one in this educational business. It is the right and duty of every professor to stand up to his convictions until argument or manifest destiny overpowers him, to set forth fearlessly matters that he conceives as inherent in the discussion of the subject or subjects to which he has devoted his life. If

educators do not know, for instance, that to learn Spanish for permanent benefit is an immense, long-term undertaking, those who work in that field must strive to put them right insofar as possible. Furthermore, the processes of general education must come to the help of foreign languages and English in colleges by furnishing us basically sound human material, that is, high-school students reasonably trained in the fundamental things of language.

Here, all importantly, is where Latin for the lower schools comes in. It provides that essential "compulsion" of which I have spoken. It helps to prevent our students from building their "language" and other educational "houses" upon unsquared and otherwise disordered foundations. It defends our English in those critical early school years when "contagious blastments" in the language sphere are "most imminent."

TWO PUNCH BOWL MONUMENTS

By Edward C. Echols
University of Alabama

THE REGULAR use of vases by the Greeks in connection with their tombs is well attested in numerous vase paintings. An amphora in the Louvre (H. Bossert and W. Zschietzschmann, *Hellas and Rome*, London, 1936, Pl. p. 157) shows a typical "shaft" tomb; the shaft, topped by a single capital, rests on a five-stepped base. The mother of the dead athlete sits on the steps; around her are lecythi and a hydria. Hanging from the shaft is an aryballus, the oil bottle of the athletes. Topping the shaft is a large and handsome calyx crater, the punch bowl of the Greeks, the vessel in which they mixed their wine and water.

Modern tombs and graves are also frequently furnished with vases and jars to hold offerings of flowers. But in Greenwood Cemetery, in Wheeling, West Virginia, there stands a grave marker which until recently bore a surprising resemblance to the athlete's monument on the Louvre amphora mentioned above. The Punch Bowl Monument formerly marked the grave of Michael Sweeny, one of a colorful family of glassworkers of the nineteenth century. Josephine Jefferson describes the bowl and monument in her book *Wheeling Glass* (Mount Vernon, Ohio: The Guide Publishing Company, 1948), 65:

"Thomas [Sweeny], who was a great admirer of Henry Clay, decided to design for him a gift. For days he worked on the mold for a large punch bowl to be made entirely out of glass. Eventually the mold was ready and three bowls were made, one for Henry Clay, one for Thomas, and one for Michael. Upon their completion the mold was destroyed.

"Thomas sent his bowl to England to the London Exposition. It was carefully packed, carried to Pittsburgh by boat, then overland to Baltimore whence it was shipped abroad. The largest piece of cut glass ever made, it was called 'Sweeny's Folly.' But when it received the award of Grand Prize, Thomas became a hero. This bowl is now in the British Museum.

"The second bowl, amid much pomp and gaiety, was presented to Mr. Clay on his next visit to Wheeling. A large reception in Mr. Clay's honor was held at the home of Thomas. The bowl was used for punch on this occasion. . . . It was made entirely of cut glass, prisms hanging from the rim. The bowl was four feet ten inches in height, held twenty-one gallons of liquid, and weighed two hundred twenty-five pounds.

"The third bowl, Michael's, disappeared and for years there was no trace of it. The two brothers soon dissolved their partnership and there ended all family communication, as the separation was not friendly. However, to Michael's funeral came Thomas and his daughter, and later both visited his grave at the cemetery. Here they discovered, to their amazement, the third punch bowl being used as a monument. Mounted on a heavy granite top and entirely encased in glass, stood the third punch bowl."

The bowl has been removed from the cemetery and is now a part of the Boyd collection of American handmade glass at Oglebay Museum, in Wheeling.

Michael Sweeny's punch bowl was a fitting tribute to his craftsmanship; perhaps our athlete's punch bowl was a fitting tribute to his draughtsmanship!

BOOK NOTES

Readings in the History of the Ancient World. By William C. McDermott and Wallace E. Caldwell. New York: Rinehart and Company, 1951. Pp. xxii plus 489. $4.00.

This latest source book of ancient history has many virtues and few defects. The introductory chapter, after a brief sketch of ancient historiography and its extant representatives (8 pp.), contains 20 pages of quotations from Herodotus, Thucydides, Polybius, Cicero, Livy, Plutarch, Tacitus, and Cassius Dio, in which these historians speak of their purposes and methods. The rest of the book presents the readings, distributed as follows: Mesopotamia and Syria, 36 pages; Egypt, 28 pages; Hellas before the Persian Wars, 42 pages; Hellas in the Fifth Century, 56 pages; Hellas in the Fourth Century, 36 pages; Alexander and the Hellenistic Age, 35 pages; Early Rome and Italy, 29 pages; Rome and the Mediterranean World, 34 pages; The Roman Revolution, 64 pages; The Age of Augustus, 33 pages; The Early Roman Empire, 55 pages; The Later Roman Empire, 12 pages. The last division is regrettably short. Represented are 50 authors, the Bible, the Laws of the Twelve Tables, and 21 inscriptions—Latin, Egyptian, and Oriental.

The selections, which draw on all types of literature, are uniformly valuable in their picture of ancient life, and the choice of translations, with two exceptions, is likewise excellent: H. A. J. Munro's version of Lucretius and that of Livy by Spillan and Edwards are in the kind of nineteenth-century translation-English that is no longer palatable. As the book is to be used in conjunction with a textbook, there are no bibliographies (the lack is partially supplied by an alphabetical list of authors and translators), and the introductory notes to the various divisions and subdivisions are brief. The absence of other exegetical notes is felt only occasionally, when transitions between non-consecutive selections from the same work are not clearly indicated (see pp. 228, 315, 340); the absence of indices is more serious. The volume itself is handsome and sturdy, and the printed page a pleasure to the eye. Of the handful of misprints, only two are not self-explanatory: on page 242 read *Samnium* for *Samnium* and *Caudium* for *Claudium*. —K.G.

The Epicureanism of Titus Pomponius Atticus. By Robert J. Leslie. Philadelphia: William H. Allen, Bookseller, 1950. Pp. vii plus 76. $1.00.

Most students of Cicero accept the view that, while he makes it abundantly clear in his essays and letters that he hates the sin of Epicureanism, he can love the sinner: a Trebatius, a Paetus, and above all a Titus Pomponius Atticus. In the present study, a Columbia University doctoral dis-

sertation, the author has sought answers to two questions: (1) Was Atticus an Epicurean or was he not? (2) If Atticus was not a true Epicurean in the original sense of the word, to what extent may we call him an Epicurean at all?

In Chapter I ("Atticus' Life: An Outline") and in Chapter II ("The Romans and Greek Philosophy") the author prepares the way for his consideration in Chapters III and IV of the documentary evidence on (1) Atticus' relations with known Epicureans, (2) his personal relations with Cicero, (3) his business activities, (4) his private life, and (5) his political opinions and any resulting political activity.

Chapter V is a résumé of the evidence presented in previous chapters, and the author's conclusions, viz., that Atticus was, and so regarded himself, a "Roman Epicurean" in the most exact sense of the term, as defined in Chapter III, and that in all his activities and his personal relationships he showed less deviation from the teachings of the Master than did many of his Roman contemporaries whose status as Epicureans was not then and is not now called into question.

Each chapter is followed by the documentation for the chapter, and there is an excellent general bibliography on pages 74-76. —W.L.C.

Always the Mediterranean. By Max Miller. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1952. Pp. 256. $3.50.

This book, by the author of *I Cover the Waterfront*, was inspired by the post-war experiences in the Mediterranean of members of the Sixth Fleet, to which Mr. Miller was for a time assigned. As the ships touch at Istanbul, Beirut, Tunis, Crete, Athens, Malta, Naples, Nice, etc., we are given a mixture of modern local color, popularized history and archaeology, and the author's philosophy. Mr. Miller is much impressed throughout with the eternal struggles for power that have gone on in the region from the dawn of civilization, and with the everlasting trickery and cruelty that have accompanied those struggles. His style is light and breezy—frequently to the point of flippancy. The writing was done either very hastily or with appalling carelessness. Errors in punctuation and sentence structure glare from almost every page, and the book abounds in such gems as: "They simply stayed there, is all" (p. 117); "being lousy rich" (p. 38); "bumped off" (p. 89); "some previous pipsqueak of a team, unheralded, will bloom into being the top dog now" (p. 102); "the turning point in the whole Ottoman Empire started on the downgrade with 'Selim the Sot'" (p. 62); "Tyrean blue" (p. 79); "Bierut" (p. 86); "the Phoenicians, along with their fellow travelers, the Greeks" (p. 248); "Athenean" (p. 111); "in" (or "inside") the Acropolis (several times); and so on and on. Frequently a bit of history or mythology is presented in a manner deliberately designed to be startling or amusing—as, for instance, the story of Icarus (p. 113). This, of course, is all in the spirit of good fun; but in far poorer taste is the offensive treatment of the Crusades (pp. 84-89).

If we bear in mind that this book is designed to divert rather than to inform, and that it is evidently not meant to be taken seriously, we can read it, smile, and forget it.—L.B.L.

NOTES AND NOTICES

The annual joint meeting of the American Philological Association and the Archaeological Institute of America was held in 1952 at the Hotel Statler, in Cleveland, Ohio, on December 28-30. A meeting of the Council of the American Classical League was held on the same occasion.

Officers of the American Philological Association for the year 1953 are: President, Benjamin D. Meritt, of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N. J.; First Vice-President, T. Robert S. Broughton, of Bryn Mawr College; Second Vice-President, Ben E. Perry, of the University of Illinois; Secretary-Treasurer and Representative to the Council of the American Classical League, Meriwether Stuart, of Hunter College of the City of New York; Editor, Phillip H. DeLacy, of Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.

A recent number of the *Hawaii Educational Review* carries an article by Alice Carlson, of Roosevelt High School, Honolulu, on her students' Latin club activities, with a photograph of a scene from a play written by one of the club members. This play has been published as Service Bureau Mimeograph No. 671 (35¢).

The March, 1952, number of the *Journal of Higher Education* carries (pp. 156-159) an article by A. M. Withers, entitled "Latin, Romance, and Germanics."Copies may be obtained for 10¢ each from the author at Concord College, Athens, West Va.

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W. L. CARR, Director

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